Pottery

323 773 The ancient Bambara did not know about pottery. At the time they lived in caverns, they let their meat dry in the sun on the rocks. Next, they manufactured receptacles by hollowing out stones, of which certain unused millstones /125/ seen today are copies. When they had invented fire, they cooked meat by spitting it with skewers of green sunzun wood and by exposing it to flames and live coals.

Later, they shaped and dried vessels of coarse clay, imitating the hollowed-out stones. One of these vessels, which was exposed to the fire in order to cook the food it contained, was observed to have changed color, hardened, and become more resistant. In this way they developed the technology of making pottery at a time when they still had only wooden tools.

323 326 778 575 Since this technology is related to the invention of fire, the wives of the blacksmiths were the first to practice it.(1). Today they form

1. The different techniques of pottery making were supposedly revealed to the village of Gwondougou (see p. 155) by the Soba spirits of the crossroads.

a society (tô) in each village and own many altars entrusted to the care of the head of the society.

The principal altar, the dyo kala, which represents the thumb of the potters, is made of wood carved in the shape of a thumb and engraved with symbolic lines. To learn her trade, each initiate is lightly touched on the head with it. The head of the society spills her blood over it in the case of a broken taboo affecting the society. But its principal function is to be the receptacle for the spiritual forces of the group: upon a member's death, this object, placed upon the corpse, gathers up the soul which escapes from the body.

[252] In certain villages, the pots with holes, ñintin, used for cooking couscous, are placed near the village upon the pile of ashes from the great hearth where the pots are fired (see Pl. IV, a); they also serve as altars at the time when the potters are consecrated.

323 561 575 Since her childhood the potter, following the example of her seniors, practices kneading and shaping little pots, bokofani (literally, little clay pots). After excision at the required age, she joins

575
323
[561] the society during a public consecration which she receives with several others, the group forming an age grade.

After an apprenticeship of seven days, the potters decide upon the date of the ceremony which is celebrated at the firing spot near the altars. Each member provides a hairpin (bandigi), which represents her on this occasion, and the skin of a hedgehog. Disrobed in front of the assembled villages, each girl is seated in turn on the altar as an aged woman examines her genitals to verify her virginity and the proper execution of the excision.

[831] /126/ If the young girl is no longer a virgin, she is publicly declared dangadé (literally, bastard) and finds herself automatically excluded from the society; she will never be able to receive the potter's title. Otherwise, a proclamation is made immediately to the great joy of the public. If the excision has not been judged [304] sufficient, the patient is given the title of potter after having submitted to a new operation performed in such a way that the blood runs over the pottery (1).

1. If excision is not possible, the operation takes the form of a wound inflicted with the hedgehog's skin (see p. 243).

575
323
867 An old woman then appears seated before members of the age grade and instructs them. She tells of the origin and history of pottery, apprising them of the difficulties of the craft such as fatigue, burns, etc. She teaches them patience towards the client and enumerates the rules which will have to be observed during their lifetime: to be pure in heart and to hate no one; not to undertake work shortly after having had sexual relations; to work in silence; to respect all taboos in general.

575
323
782
431 She then makes a libation of karite oil on the altar and rubs it on the bodies of the initiates who must run their tongues over the pottery, thus making an oath. Sheep, brought by the initiates' parents, are then killed by having their throat cut over the hearth in the name of the potters while the elders of the society present to the initiates gifts consisting of several pots which they will sell for profit while waiting for their first work. This gift is moreover a sign of adoption.

323
317
784 The utensils are made with clay, mbogo pasa, taken from the bottom of the watercourse or along the river's edge; they belong to

788 as it returned to its point of departure. This was presumably because the operator had not done what was necessary to assure the reintegration of the supernatural power.

[778] There are thus rites that set in motion this universal energy, whether diffuse or personified -- rites that channel, direct and orientate this energy so that not only it will reach the goal sought, but also it will be kept from straying from the desired route, thus harming the very person it is supposed to aid. Similar means are used to forestall the misdeeds which may be committed by an agent mistakenly invoked. When Ngolo had aroused his son Ntyi's ambition, he thought he could conjure away its effects by sacrificing his two grandsons, Ntyi's own children.

Those actions that call upon, guide and reintegrate this universal energy, whether diffuse or personified, are what we call rites.

788 754 During the oath using kola, the operator has in his hand a sharp object (pin, thorn, etc.) with which he pricks or stabs through the nut, saying, for instance: "Take my heart and my liver and kill me, if...." (i ka ne son' ni m bien' ta, ni ...). These pricks indicate to the "power" with which the operator is concerned that, if necessary, it should take vengeance by piercing the guilty person, just as the kola is pierced by the pin (1).

1. The shirt sent by Ma-n-son to Forokoro was first pricked with a needle (p. 120).

In curses, all the imprecations used are so many indications, indeed sometimes instructions (2), as to how the [153] spirit invoked is requested to act.

[575] 2. At the time of admission to the brotherhoods, the most frightful threats are made against the traitor or perjuror in the form of curses indicating to the avenging spirit how he should punish: "may it enter through your anus and come out through your mouth, etc."

614 fa (2), according to whether the group itself is meant or the
596

> 2. Fa means "lord," "master," "patriarch," or "father," depending on the circumstances. Within the family, it corresponds very closely to the titular incumbent of such rank and high office who led Mistral [Ed., a French poet] to call his father: "my lord father," or "the master."

place which this collectivity occupies.

571 Let us note at the start that any collectivity forming
595 an association is a ton'; thus, this is the case for all persons under the authority of one fa, and from this point of view, each of them is a ton'-den', literally, "a child of the ton'," i.e., member of the ton'. The word ton'-denya derives from the same word and is commonly used as a collective designation for all the members of the same ton'. This is the equivalent of the French word [159] société [Ed., society, association] or confrérie [Ed., brotherhood, confraternity]. The head of the ton' is the ton'-tigi, a term by which honor is paid to the head of an important family, and which, in some respects, is the equivalent of our [Ed., French] words notable [Ed., person of note, dignitary] and notabilité [Ed., notability, principal person].

614 If one considers the family as an association of the
596 issue of the same parents, the term ba-denya is used, derived from ba-den'. Since the word ba means "mother" and, in the broad sense, "progenitor," mother or father, the word ba-den' is used for any of their issue, hence "children," "brothers," and "relatives," while ba-denya means "fraternity" "kinship."

Although, in the restricted sense in which we shall use it, the word ton' refers to anyone living under the authority of the ton'-tigi, whether or not he is connected by descent, the more exact term, ba-denya, refers only to those whose

881 group is called kule. In the same way, the boys go about in a group headed by the sema-tye, called masa (king), followed by the masa-ma-kono, the masa-ma-kono-segere, etc.

In this way, the whole country learns which boys and girls have completed the soli.

The Fla-n-ton'

561 572 575 Those who have belonged to the same n-Tomo-ya and have gone through the soli together remain bound together for life; they are fula-ni ("peers," "twins") because they were born on the same day to sexual and social life. Wherever they may be and whatever their respective rank, two fula-ni consider themselves equals even if one of them is a chief and the other a slave; the latter in particular has the right to speak his mind without fear (1). Theoretically, therefore, the fula-ni is the friend on

1. See in Chapter 7, "The Man with Three Braids." [Not translated.]

whom one may safely rely, and he is usually a member of the council, small but very powerful, which every fa likes to have around. It is to him that the fa confides his troubles, his joys, his plans, and his personal affairs. He is present at all the celebrations and mourning of the family. On serious or important occasions, he represents his friend who often entrusts him with the supervision of his household during an absence and appoints him guardian or trustee of his children after his death. He is a brother who may be loved more than agnate or uterine brothers. At the same time the fulani-ya does not necessarily produce a type of brotherhood analogous to that brought about by the blood pact. Rather, it engenders a kind of mutual assistance which is strengthened by the organization called fla-n-ton', "assemblage of people of the same age," i.e., those "born" at the same soli.

The young people from the same soli form a fla-m-bolo, literally, a band of persons of the same age.

561
575 'A fla-n-ton' usually includes the young people from three consecutive soli, so it is an assemblage of three fla-m-bolo. Thus, Bambara society is composed of a certain number of fla-n-ton', and all the people are distributed among them, from the most recent tye-kura (new men) to the tye-koro (elders) who are the most advanced in age, [249] Since the women also have their fla-n-ton', it is reasonable to say, from a certain point of view, that the soli is the basis of life and of the social organization.

571 Each fla-n-ton' is independent, but it maintains the best of relations with its immediate neighbors, the one preceding it, the one following it, and the one of the women of the same soli. Thus, the fla-n-ton' have a certain solidarity among them, which is shown by the custom of each fla-n-ton' honoring its immediate neighbors by offering them some of the food from its corporate meals. It should be noted, also, that whenever discord arises within a fla-n-ton', the neighboring fla-n-ton' intervene to make peace; a special arbiter may even be chosen to smooth out the difficulties involved in such an affair (1).

1. In this connection, note the difficulties between the ton' of Kassoum and Biton as reported in the chronicle of Ségou above.

Wherever he goes, a Bambara will look up people of his own age, i.e., those who went through the soli at the same time. He can always count on their friendly welcome and practical help.

In each fla-n-ton' there is a chief, ton-tigi, chosen in various ways depending on the place and the people. He may be the son of a notable; he may be a house slave. A syere (follower) assists him or replaces him. A dyala-tige, or assigner of shares, has the function of enforcing discipline and distributing the food at the group banquets; this is usually a house slave. Finally, a ton-dyeli serves as general factotum and herald; a person of caste has this role. From the point of view of the

561
575 association, each fula-ni is a ton'-den'.

The bachelors and some of the married men regard the fla-n-ton' simply as a means of having a good time in the company of boon companions. Anything brought by an individual member goes to swell the common fund which is most often used to organize feasts and drinking bouts. At these banquets, it is customary to comply with rules which appear curious at first sight and which must be obeyed unless the member wants to pay a fine into the common fund. Thus, anyone who acts on his own prior to or contrary to an order from the ton-tigi, anyone who comes or leaves, blows his nose, [250] spits, sneezes, and so on, without permission, is fined. Aside from the profit to the common fund, the procedure has its uses in making the ton-den' amenable to discipline.

In principle, the treasury of the fla-n-ton' is supposed to be used only to succor poor, embarrassed, or unfortunate members, who are expected to repay with interest insofar as they are able to do so. In theory, also, all of the ton-den' can count on moral and material aid from their fla-ni whenever there is need for it. It goes without saying that this fine spirit of altruism is rarely put into practice.

The fact of the matter is that the young masters (kamale-u) make use of the organization to resist the omnipotence of the elders (koro-u); malcontents of all sorts take refuge in it; adventurers find it useful in promoting their schemes. We shall see how the two most powerful Bambara empires were built on the fla-n-ton'.

2. General Considerations Concerning the Brotherhoods

Origin of the Brotherhoods

177
794 There is no reason to suppose that the Bambara brotherhoods are not purely native institutions; similar organizations are to be found all over Africa, particularly in areas untouched by Moslem influence. All of them follow similar principles made manifest in ways characteristic of African occultism.

177
794 There is no doubt, however, that in the case of the Bambara with whom we are here concerned this native foundation

173 Their people, [290] except for the payment of required tribute,
631 lived as they pleased and followed their own customs as long as the latter did not offend the dominant clan.

2. Clan of the "People of Ségou"

Development of the Fla-n-ton' of Ségou-koro

575 According to the chronicle cited earlier, the origin of the
561 clan of Ségou must be attributed to the development of a fla-n-ton'.

Those persons who have undergone the rite of soli together are united in a fla-n-bolo (band of peers); the fla-n-bolo of three consecutive soli form a fla-n-ton' (assemblage of peers). The members call themselves ton'-den' in relation to the association, and fla-ni in relation to one another.

In each fla-n-ton' there is a ton'-tigi (head of the assemblage) elected by the ton' den', who is just as likely to be a wolosu (slave born in the house) as the son of a notable; a dyala-tigi (distributor), likewise elected by the ton'-den', is especially charged with the distribution of food for the group's banquets and with the enforcement of regulations; a ton' dyeli is a kind of beadle appointed by the ton'-tigi who has him make preparations for meetings, assemble the members, announce orders, etc., and he is usually a young person of caste. There are people of all races and of all ranks in the fla-n-ton', and in the association there is theoretically, complete equality among them. Indeed, this equality explains the term fla-ni-u (peers) which they use among themselves.

In principle the aim of the fla-n-ton' (1) is to establish

1. As we have noted, there are fla-n-ton' for women as well as for men, but we are not considering them here; their role is insignificant from the present point of view.

575 561 a sense of solidarity among the ton'-den'. In reality, the bachelor ton'-den' are principally concerned with amassing as much food as possible for the sole purpose of treating themselves to copious and merry banquets from time to time; for this purpose all means are acceptable. Each member brings to the group whatever he can lay his hands on; in addition, the society assesses its members for contributions to swell the common fund. [291] First, there are the entrance fees and assessments in kind, particularly of grain. Then there are fines for infractions of the rules, involving penalties whose purpose is simply the enrichment of the group's treasury. At certain meetings, for instance, the most ordinary acts may not be performed unless permission has been given by the ton'-tigi or the dyala-tigi. A member who squats, rises, speaks, sneezes, or laughs before being authorized to do so is fined. Finally, the society goes on organized hunts, and the game thus acquired is distributed among the members on the basis of strict equality.

[527] Ordinarily the ton'-den' meet twice a week, on Monday and Thursday; these are the free days allotted to the poor people (fantan'-u), that is, people who are wholly under control.

The ton'-tigi can make no important decision without the prior advice and agreement of the ton'-den', but this does not mean that his role is negligible. His initiative determines the orientation of acts, and he later sees to their execution. Therefore, if he is a clever man, he actually has almost sole command over an organization capable of exerting powerful pressure on the native milieu, which by nature is amorphous, because a fla-n-ton' is not an isolated group. It is linked with the one that preceded it and the one immediately following it by a kind of solidarity, so that native society, from this point of view, is made up of an uninterrupted series of fla-n-ton' closely bound to each other, since the same chain of relationship prevails for women and since every male fla-n-ton' has a brotherhood relationship with the corresponding female fla-n-ton'.

[627] If a difference arises between members of the same fla-n-ton', the "elders" of the preceding fla-n-ton', i.e., the one immediately older, intervene as conciliators to settle the quarrel.

575
561
[628] When differences arise between fla-n-ton', an arbitrator is chosen by these fla-n-ton'; in some regions, there is even an arbitrator designated in advance.

Among all these fla-n-ton' the most conspicuous is the one having the largest number of young bachelors known as "the young masters" (kamalen'-u). Being much given to idleness, the kamalen'-u are troublemakers and rebels who seek all the [292] material pleasures and devote their talents to opposing the fa, the bina, and those who, as masters of the community, impose on the young the whole weight of an authority which is absolute and often niggling.

This explanation makes it plain that the post of ton'-tigi is no sinecure. In order to maintain his role honorably, the ton'-tigi must be capable of exerting his authority in subtle and shrewd ways, for the ton'-den' are touchy and undisciplined, and they are quick to claim the equality which is the basis of their association, even to the point of egalitarian mania or egalitarianism. Therefore, it is interesting to note that the regulations, fantastic at first glance, which inflict penalties for performing the most trivial acts are actually very effective; they correct in fun, but they represent a kind of restraint that encourages the development of discipline. Breaking with ordinary life, they tend through repetition to form habits which taken together make
[661] up what we call esprit de corps. In any event, the development which we are about to describe shows conclusively that to maintain and conserve his power the ton'-tigi must exert authority by dissimulation, by persuading those most easily offended that he is subordinating his own acts to their wishes and at the same time appearing to the faint-hearted as an imperious and audacious leader. Furthermore, he must render service to everyone and know how to turn projects and adventures, even the riskiest, into profit for the community.

Since he is the target of the hostility of the elders, who often suffer from the activities of the ton'-den', and since he is constantly envied by some of these same ton'-den' for his success, he acquires the kind of experience which makes him a crafty and sly politician, completely devoid of scruples.

*173 We shall see how Mamari (called Biton) Kouloubali managed to prevail over the tyrannical egalitarianism of the

614 and from that moment on everyone seeks to enjoy his freedom and his property for his own profit. The end result is complete disorganization, and only the emergence of a new and enterprising despot can stop it.

614 575 Fundamentally -- and this is a new aspect of the question -- the clan retains the ineradicable imprint of the fla-n-ton' from which it took its origin. The aim has not changed: to assure to each member the [307] largest possible number of those material satisfactions which are so dear to the Bambara. The means likewise remain the same: in spite of appearances to the contrary, it is a type of solidarity based on a strictly egalitarian communalism (1).

1. The innate penchant of the Black for this sort of egalitarian justice is affirmed by legendary episodes wherein an individual is honored and proclaimed chief because he was able to make strictly equal shares. Cf. the legend of Ndyadyane Ndyaye, in Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises [Senegalese Legends and Customs] by Henri Gaden, and the Djide of Djenné, in Contes du Sénégal et du Niger [Tales of the Senegal and Niger] by Zeltner.

[579] The resources of the clan are in every respect analogous to those of the fla-n-ton. Just as the latter profited from the thievery, banditry, and raids of its members, so the clan derives its main resources from successful raids and pillage.

The fla-n-ton' provided for its drinking bouts by means of the di-songo and the crops of its ton'-den' or ton'-dyon'. In the clan, the di-songo persisted for a time and then was replaced by a similar fee, the nyon'-dyu. The work required of the ton'-dyon' was minimal at first during the period of active warfare, but then Dékoro peremptorily sent them into agriculture. Ultimately the furu-ba dyon' came to be primarily agriculturalists.

The foodstuffs of the fla-n-ton' were equally distributed among the ton'-den' by the dyala-tige, under the direction of the ton'-tigi. Within the clan, property is also held in common and

614 Within the clan, property is also held in common and
575 administered by the fama who distributes it among the dyon'-
[421] kuntigi. The latter, in turn, make a further distribution as it is needed.

In the fla-n-ton' the important thing was provisions, material well-being. The same thing is true in the clan. The ton'-dyon' are interested in the profit to be derived from the association, and their feeling for the state is embodied in a very prosaic word, to-da, literally, "the pot of mush." Indeed, this is the principal item on the menue of any fraternal feast of the fla-n-ton'.

614 The property of the clan, as of the fla-n-ton', is theo-
421 retically jointly held by all the members, but since there is a large amount of it, some sort of sharing is necessary, first to consume it and then to reward zeal and fidelity and to encourage emulation and devotion. As a result, the basic egalitarianism is altered. From the clan's beginning it was conceded that a substantial part of the wealth should go to those [308] who had done most to acquire it. Thus, the leader of an expedition had a prior right because of his "luck," and he and his men further received the wherewithal "to repair the rents in their shirts," i.e., to indemnify them for damages suffered during the expedition.

[727] Each warrior kept his own loot, except for unusually valuable things which went to the clan and therefore to the fama who represented it. The part of the loot not taken by individuals was distributed by the fama after abstracting the best and largest part of it for himself.

Strictly speaking, no one actually owned any of this wealth, since all of them, even the fama, merely held it on very precarious terms. Through the caprice of the clan, anyone could [562] have everything taken away, and this applied to persons as well as to things, because the wives and children of the ton'-dyon' were, like himself, the "chattels" of the clan.

The passage of time softened the outward form of these principles; barring abuse or notorious misconduct, each individual had indefinite use of what was allotted to him and handed it on to his descendants. This usufruct, incidentally, was broader than that of our law. In addition, Mamari arrogated to himself a kind of eminent right: he appointed himself -- through usurpation facilitated by his power -- the dispenser of offices and wealth

175 sovereign. In all cases the man, although pardoned, was deprived
567 of his personal liberty and became the emperor's chattel.

Mamari next wished to assure himself of the personal fidelity
[575] of his Ton-dyon by enrolling them in cults dedicated to hisuperson. Thus, the old ton was transformed into a brotherhood with Mamari as both political and religious chief. In this way he was able to replace the political anarchy and social structure of the old Bambara regime by a new organization, despotic, very efficient militarily when fully controlled by the chief, but sometimes very dangerous to the stability of the country, as soon was seen.

E. Successors of Mamari

175 Mamari's son, Denkoro (1755-57), was to be the first victim of this all-powerful army. Exasperated by his cruelties, the military chiefs assassinated him and replaced him by his brother, Ali.[48] A Moslem, Ali wanted to propagate Islam and to forbid the use of fermented beverages and the worship of spirits. The Ton-dyon chiefs then massacred Ali and all of the Koulibali family, except two girls who were saved by one of the chiefs, N'Golo Diara. Different chiefs then contended for power: Ton-Mansa, then Kaniouba-Niouma, then Kafa-Diougou, who, all of them, reigned merely a short while before dying a violent death. Finally, N'Golo Diara, descendant of a great family who had become enslaved to Mamari and who, as we have seen, saved his daughters and then married one of them, re-established order, moved the capital to Ségou-Sikoro, and resumed the work of the great Tigi-ton.

In the course of his long reign, (1766-90), N'Golo knew how to make himself respected and loved by his subjects and how to impose his will elsewhere; he established his authority over the Macina region, the Sokolo region, at Diénné, and Timbuktu. He only failed against the Mossi of Yatenga.

Meanwhile, the elder branch of the Koulibali family, crushed by Mamari in 1754 and chased from Bélédougou, rose again. If the successors of the unfortunate Foulakoro, Sey Bamana and Deni Babo, were nothing more than pillaging chiefs raiding at Kaarta, Bélédougou, and Khasso, Sira Bo did establish a stable kingdom with Guémou as capital. His successor, Dessé Koulibali (1788-99) even believed himself strong enough to impose his suzerainty on the Bambara of Ségou.

562 When the husband dies, the wives are considered the principal
428 wealth of the heir. Among certain Bambara, the wives are divided
768 among the brothers; the eldest brother chooses and then has the other
587 brothers choose in order of age. Among others, the heritage goes to the children who must ally themselves with their father's wives. The wives who do not want to remain with the heir have the option of returning to their families, providing the settlement is returned.

428 The wife may have personal property given to her by her
562 parents at the time of marriage. Among certain Bambara, the father of the bride must give her the settlement paid by the husband, and this becomes her personal property. When a widow dies, all of her goods go to her eldest son; if there is no son, half of her goods goes to her daughters, and the other half is divided among her father, her mother, and her brother. When a married woman dies without children, her goods are divided between her husband and her father; if she no longer has her father, half goes to her husband and the other half to her brothers and sisters.

On the other hand, we have seen how a woman may inherit all of the wealth of a family head, and even of a chief, in default of male heirs, and the Mali empire had a woman Keïta at its head, daughter of Naré, fa Maghan.

562 A woman must not take part in any political discussion or
662 demonstration, which does not mean that her role in these matters is nil. All the history of Mali is full of palace intrigues which reach their acute stage at the moment of a Fama's death and of the election of a new chief. It is at this moment that the women knew how to throw into the balance all the weight of their family's power to determine the new election.

562 Finally, we have seen that in a fashion parallel to the male
561 brotherhoods and societies, the women were organized into powerful
575 hierarchical societies according to their age classes and their degree of initiation. These societies, where men do not enter, are still imperfectly known, but they are at least as formidable as the male brotherhoods.

562 The woman must pound the millet, draw water, and carry out all the household chores, but when the man kills an animal, the meat belongs to the wife, and the man must accept in turn what she will give him.

583 of d'lo, or millet beer. The head of the village and his council,
584 friends, and the to-n-déou, or members of the association of the
fla-n-to (1), go at once to pay their respects to the happy father and

561
575

1. The association of the fla-n-to, with a to-n-tigi at its head, is made up of several groups of to-n-déou, or members of the association. Every group corresponds to a circumcision. /sic/ When many are circumcised at the same time, they form a group, but if there are only one, two, or three, they join the group of those circumcised at the preceding occasion. The to-n-dé invites to his betrothal and his wedding the members of his group, who were circumcised with him, and the members of the older groups. As to the younger groups, he does not invite them. The women also form an association of fla-n-to similar to that of the men but separate from it. The woman who is at the head of the association, usually the oldest in the village, is called to-n-tigi, or massa fama, queen, and the to-n-dé mouso (the to-n-dé women) call her m'ba, mother. They are summoned only to the wedding.

583 to tell the girl that her betrothal is being celebrated and cannot hence-
584 forth be broken without a grave and important reason. Soon the b'lon of /sic/ the entry hut and the inner court are full of crouching men who drink d'lo, or millet beer, and soon ramble in their talk. And

764

4. Burials of the Circumcised, Old People, Heads of Families, Married and Unmarried Persons, Pregnant Women

Burials of the First Category, Those of Old People

[88] When I speak of old people I mean every Bambara (man or woman) who has grandchildren and so is a grandfather or grandmother. [224 575] When such an old person dies, gunpowder speaks and the shooting is even quite heavy if the deceased belongs to the association of hunters or there is an initiate of that sect (2) among his children. The chief

2. Hunters (douzo) all belong to a special sect. In order to enter it, a man must have passed his tests and killed a deer. The hunter has a special costume. See pp. 140 ff.

764 202 slave or, if there is none, a trusted man runs to notify the headman and his council, and all these dignitaries, spear in hand, come to verify the death and offer the /218/ first condolences to the family. Couriers at once go off in all directions to notify members of the family and friends. The person sent to married children is usually the one who was best man and sometimes the fouroubolomа tigi (guardian of the wedding gifts) -- at the marriage. He carries out his mission with tact and delicacy. He first notifies the husband /of a daughter/ who summons his legal wife and orders her to go and take care of her father, who is seriously ill. So she leaves her house knowing nothing, and at least keeping a remnant of hope in her heart. It is only when she is on the way that she learns the sad news.

764 [64] While everyone is running right and left, the women wash the body with an aromatic plant called sou kola (1). They dress it in

1. Basil, a labiata, ocymum album and febrifugum.

SFS
778
534
292
573

4: Henry--271 M-5 (ca. 1900) 1910 FA8 Bambara FA8

Left: Souba (monkey), society of the Koré. Above: Denouba (the big drum) and kinge (a triangle), society of the Koré. Center: Head korodouga and his herald, society of the Koré. Right: Souroukou (hyena), society of the Koré.